

THE PARADOX OF MUSLIM IDENTITY REPRESENTATION IN COMEDIC CONTENT: A NETNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF STEREOTYPES OF MUSLIM WOMEN ON INSTAGRAM

PARADOKS REPRESENTASI IDENTITAS KEMUSLIMAN DALAM KONTEN KOMEDI: NETNOGRAFIS STEREOTIPE PEREMPUAN MUSLIM INSTAGRAM

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Abstract

This article attempts to analyze gender stereotypes that portray Muslim women as subjects of ridicule and mockery on social media, especially on Instagram. These stereotypes depict Muslim women as arrogant, selfish, troublemakers, and unintelligent. Based on this focus, this research aims to interpret gender stereotypes on Instagram through the assimilation of comedic content. The study employs a qualitative approach with netnography to understand and interpret these dynamics. Research data is collected through content observation on Instagram and a review of previous studies. Data analysis is conducted using an interactive data analysis model. The research finds that gender stereotypes in the virtual space stem from paradigmatic social gender biases in the real world. These biases are used as material for designing comedic content on Instagram that mocks and ridicules Muslim women. The economic motives of Instagram account owners primarily drive stereotypes in the virtual space. The representation of Muslim identity depicted is far from gender consciousness. This situation creates a paradox between reinforcing the authenticity of Muslim women and the virtualization of their reality in various activities. Literacy and gender awareness based on the theological values of account owners offer a solution to address the paradox of Muslim identity representation.

Keywords: Paradox, Representation, Gender, Instagram

Abstrak

Artikel ini berupaya menganalisis stereotype gender yang merepresentasikan perempuan muslim sebagai bahan lelucon dan ejekan di media sosial terutama di Instagram. Stereotype tersebut justru menampilkan sosok perempuan muslim yang arogan, egois, trouble maker, dan bodoh. Berdasarkan fokus tersebut, riset

ini mencoba memaknai stereotipe gender di instagram melalui asifikasi konten-konten komedi. Riset ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis netnografi dalam memahami dan memaknai dinamika tersebut. Data riset dikumpulkan melalui teknik observasi pada konten instagram dan studi literasi terhadap riset-riset sebelumnya. Analisis data menggunakan model analisis data interaktif. Riset ini menemukan, jika stereotipe perempuan di ruang virtual terbentuk dari paradigmatik konstruksi sosial yang bias gender di ruang faktual. Konstruksi itulah yang dijadikan bahan merancang konten komedi instagram yang penuh lelucon dan ejekan terhadap perempuan muslim. Stereotipe di ruang virtual mayoritas dilatari motif ekonomi "pemilik" akun instagram. Representasi kemusliman yang digambarkan jauh dari kesadaran gender. Keadaan ini menjadi paradoks antara penguatan kesejatan perempuan muslim dengan virtualisasi kenyataan dalam ragam aktivitasnya. Literasi dan kesadaran gender berbasis nilai-nilai teologis para pemilik akun menjadi solusi mengatasi paradoks representasi identitas kemusliman.

Kata Kunci: *Paradoks, Representasi, Gender, Instagram*

INTRODUCTION

One of the impacts of globalization is the strengthening of identity representation in many social media platform packages. Social media has become the main menu of people's social lives across regional boundaries and socio-cultural boundaries. Pokhriyal et al.'s research shows that social media has become a link between every social actor (Pokhriyal, Valentino, & Vosoughi, 2023); and, as Touloupis et al.'s research found, it has the potential for indiscriminate use of social media (Touloupis, Sofologi, & Tachmatzidis, 2023). Hence, the patriarchal mentality is evident in every comment that continues to be reproduced on social media (Küçükşen, 2016). Until now, there is still an assumption that women are creatures that have deficiencies in the ability of reason and religion (Abdullah & Sapiei, 2018; Khattab, 2018; Kirtsoglou, 2004; Suryorini, 2012); and women are closely related to crime (Eastwood, 2018). Naturally, male and female characters on social media are perceived stereotypically (Guo, 2022). Moreover, the identity of Muslim women is portrayed as a subordinate figure who is treated within the framework of the concept of maleness.

Social media "seems" to be a place to produce negative and discriminatory stereotypes of women. As Munoz & Salido-Fernandez's research found, if Twitter is a public channel, there is still room for imbalance in gender representation (Muñoz & Salido-Fernández, 2024) or even show sex stereotypes, as King & Carley's research found (King & Carley, 2023). However, Nunez-Roman et al.'s research show that Twitter is used as a medium to spread gender activism through inclusive language (Nunez-Roman & et. al., 2023). Although on the one hand, as Bonet-Marti's research found, anti-feminism discourse also appears on Twitter as a counter-movement to mainstreaming gender rhetoric (Bonet-Marti, 2021). Currently, stereotypes of women, especially those related to education, are changing, so the culture and gender system are also changing (Boutyline, Arseniev-Koehler, & Cornell, 2023).

However, factually, there are still Instagram accounts that actually contain negative stereotypes of women, so they are detected as not representing egalitarian

stereotypes between genders. There are even Instagrams that show a male figure in the role of a woman who has a despicable attitude and character, stupid and weak. On the contrary, as Lončar et al. found, women want to leave a positive impression on Instagram by editing their photos (Lončar, Šuljug Vučica, & Hrzić, 2023). It is natural that, as Abrante & Carballeire's research finds, a positive body image influences body image on Instagram (Abrante & Carballeira, 2023) or as a natural act, as Papageorgiou et al.'s research finds (Papageorgiou, Fisher, & Crossa, 2023). Thus, the emergence of these stereotypes cannot be separated from the culture and gender system that develops in society, thus influencing the mindset and behavior of Instagram owners. Geertz recognizes this dynamic that the gender construction of Indonesian society does not show justice based on egalitarian principles (Geertz, 1983).

The strong influence of culture and the gender system has resulted in discriminatory expressions and actions that marginalize women's position through jokes or ridicule. On Instagram, jokes or mockery posts that have negative stereotypes of women have emerged. However, these jokes and mockery represent the nature and character of Muslim women who are considered part of the social life of Indonesian society. Naturally, Rosyidah & Nurwati's research findings state that gender is a demographic variable that influences the shaping of new identities for Instagram users - read social media (Rosyidah & Nurwati, 2019). It is because the hegemony over culture and the gender system in society is transmitted into the construction of values and norms in cyberspace. This pattern is almost similar to the research findings of Romo-Aviles et al., who described the spread of an idealized model of "alcohol consumption" through Instagram and hid the detrimental effects of the substance (Romo-Aviles, Pavón-Benítez, & Gómez, 2023).

These inherent stereotypes create an image of women as arrogant, selfish, troublemakers, and stupid. However, this negative image is considered legitimate, natural, and suitable to be used as content material that is nuanced with jokes or ridicule on Instagram. As a result, the content is able to attract the attention of netizens to trending entertainment content. However, this pattern is very different from feminist performances on Instagram, which tend to use graphic design that has become a popular cultural imagery (Caldeira, 2023). Therefore, gender stereotypes that are considered entertainment content need to be analyzed in order to understand the meaning behind the dynamics of Instagram accounts. This gender stereotype is indeed inseparable from the culture and gender system that exists in the midst of society. Hence, the nuances of egalitarian relations in the factual and virtual world are complicated to materialize. Even under the pretext of "for the sake of entertainment," Instagram content that contains jokes and ridicule is far from the principles of gender justice so that the dignity of Muslim women falls.

Based on this rationalization, this research focuses on comedy content that has discriminatory tendencies towards Muslim women using a gender approach.

The representation of Muslim women's identity in many Instagram accounts often shows many paradoxes. The intention to represent an elegant, shalihah, and friendly Muslim woman is turned into a parody that undermines the dignity of Muslim women. The question is how the paradoxical representation of Muslim women's identity is depicted in Instagram content, along with the response to the content. Understanding the paradox of representation can be the basis for consideration of strengthening gender literacy and awareness.

Gender issues have become a significant issue in modern society. The superiority of men and the subordination of women in the domestic and public spheres that took place in the traditional phase are considered out of sync with people's lives. Discrimination against women occurs due to a misunderstanding of gender and continues to this day (Larasati, 2021). Therefore, this social construction needs special attention in realizing an egalitarian pattern of relations between men and women so that the construction of negative stereotypes can be eroded in order to realize a better life according to prophetic values. Although gender equality, as Wandu & Reflianto's research found, still results in a decrease in women's emotional maturity (Wandu & Reflianto, 2018). However, critical analysis of negative stereotypes needs to find the root causes of gender inequality, including the position of women who are subordinated, marginalized, or even experience psychological and physiological violence. Thus, gender stereotype analysis is critical to be used as a reference in seeing the inequality of relations between men and women.

The problems of gender stereotypes that arise in society are basically due to confusion in understanding the conceptuality of sex and gender. Often, the two concepts are confused or even overlap in meaning. Gender is a social construction and is non-biological, such as psychological, social, or cultural attached to a particular sex (sex). In contrast, sex is a biological entity, such as men having different reproductive organs from women. The confusion in understanding the conceptuality of sex and gender is shown by the division of traits and characters that are standardly attached to sexual personal or communal figures. It's just that the traits and characters of women constructed by society tend to lead to negative stereotypes. Therefore, feminist activists on social channels continue to deconstruct society's wrong understanding of women (Purwaningtyas, 2021).

This dynamic arises because the social construction that has been passed down from generation to generation is believed to be a cultural creation or also an understanding of religious propositions. Even though this inheritance has the opportunity to be incompatible with the spirit of prophetic humanity. Stereotypes attached to women as arrogant, selfish, trouble makers, and stupid are considered natural and appropriate as Instagram content material. Even the content that is mixed in the form of comedy is considered to be able to attract the attention of netizens. In fact, Instagram accounts that contain comedic content have many followers and are also verified with a blue tick. Caldeira et al.'s research found

that Instagram can play a role in reproducing and reinforcing certain cultural norms, including gender (Sofia P. Caldeira, Ridder, & Bauwel, 2018).

This research is different from what Caldeira et al. stated, where Instagram is produced to legitimize gender inequality or even stereotypes against gender, especially against Muslim women. This research focuses on analyzing the parody content on Instagram accounts. The researcher assumes that the parody content legitimizes the gender inequality that exists in the factual space and is also brought into the virtual space. This condition creates a paradox in the lives of Muslim women whose dignity should be aligned with Muslim men.

METHOD

This netnography research analyzes the development of comedy content activities through photo uploads and short videos on Instagram. The selection of Instagram accounts is based on considerations, including first, the account has original photo and video content from their creativity; second, the account has the most followers compared to other Instagram accounts; third, the account has a large number of likes; and fourth, the account uploads videos and photos actively and regularly.

The number of Instagram accounts that are in accordance with these considerations needs to be filtered and specified in line with the research theme. Hence, the researcher conducts screening with stages, including first, filtering the content of interest, namely by selecting content that contains comedy, especially content that contains the role of using female attributes by men; second, the selected comedy content contains parodies related to Muslim women such as women who use the hijab, veil, *abaya*, and others; and third, focusing on content that makes Muslim women the subject of jokes and ridicule in the form of comedy.

Based on these considerations and screening, several Instagram accounts were obtained, as listed in the following table 1.

Table 1.
Instagram Account Identity

No.	Accounts	Status	Number of Uploads	Number of Followers
1.	Mimi Peri Rapunchelle ID @mimi.peri (Object of Research)	Blue tick	2,812	1,900,000
2.	Mak Beti ID @mamakbeti	Blue tick	1,238	893,000
3.	Warintil Official ID @warintilofficial	Blue tick	464	487,000

This identity indicates that the blue tick is a sign of the authenticity and uniqueness of an Instagram user. In contrast, the number of followers indicates the high popularity of the account. Thus, the blue tick indicator and the large number of followers are the main reasons for determining the proper Instagram account to observe. This research uses gender paradigmatics as a perspective as well as an approach by pointing out the stereotypes that come from patriarchal culture and systems and are attached to women. The paradigmatic assumption in this research is that gender is a socially constructed entity that is standardized and attached to certain sexual groups - namely women. However, this entity opens up a hegemonic space for men over women and causes harm and oppression to women.

Therefore, this research, using a qualitative approach with netnography, seeks to understand and interpret the dynamics of gender stereotypes that represent Muslim women as the subject of jokes and ridicule on social media, especially on Instagram. Of course, the results of this research are not intended - or oriented - to generalize conclusions. The data for this research was collected based on observation techniques on Instagram content and literacy studies of previous research. After the data is collected, this research analyzes the data with the principle of ongoing analysis, which is carried out through a repetitive pattern between data collection and analysis simultaneously. The analysis model uses the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, which consists of four stages, namely: data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion, as shown in the following figure 1.

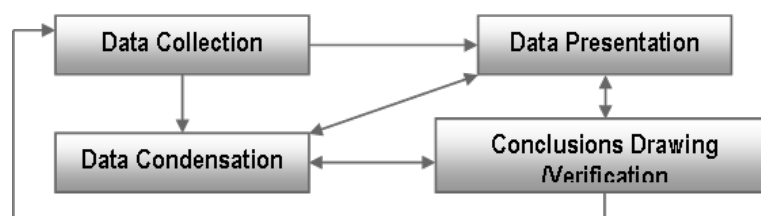


Figure 1. Interactive Model Data Analysis

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Women and Stereotypes on Social Media Instagram

The attitude and character of Muslim women exhibited by some Instagram account users are separated from the principles of justice. They tend to expose women's bodies and attributes to be used as content to attract the attention and laughter of netizens. Accounts such as @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial, through male actors, vulgarly demonstrate the behavior and attitudes of Muslim women. They argue that the show is merely entertainment and comedy content that does not need to be taken seriously. Moreover, the actor who plays the Muslim woman and also the owner of the Instagram account is a personal or communal viral general public, so the content is considered to have a unique or even funny value.

However, the selectivity of society when responding to these comedic contents in order to have an impact of change -read educative value- on netizens so that they are able to be more critical in accepting various forms of content on social media -read Instagram. Tragically, women's struggles to uplift their dignity are the subject of jokes and ridicule. Although, the gender construction attached to women is often interchanged with male social conceptuality. The implication is that the attitudes and characters of feminine and masculine conceptualities are firmly attached and owned by the male and female sex in a dominative-differentiative frame. Therefore, Tjajadi et al.'s research found that there is also an Instagram account that tries to fight for women's rights - namely @SingleMomsIndonesia (Tjajadi, Marta, & Engliana, 2021).

On the one hand, the content uploaded by the @mimi.peri account on Instagram greatly discredits the figure of women (Figure 2). The account represents women as chatty, seductive, and selfish. As if it has become a characteristic of the @mimi.peri account, the content actually gets a lot of netizen attention and is able to increase ratings. Commonly, similar content will be continuously posted in order to realize the goals and achieve the orientation of the Instagram account manager. This dynamic "seems" to be in line with the theory of reinforcement and punishment developed by Edward L. Thorndike. This theory states that activities that have a positive impact are likely to be repeated, and conversely, activities that have a negative impact are unlikely to be repeated (Thorndike, 1905). Thus, as long as the content is able to get the attention of many netizens, it will continue to appear.



Figure 2: Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: @mimi.peri)

In addition to content that contains women as chatty, seductive, and selfish, there is also content that depicts women doing domestic activities - as shown in Figure 3. However, the content is packaged in a style and setting for entertainment purposes only so that it benefits from the increasing amount of attention from

netizens. Another advantage is that the account manager can influence netizens such as promoting or endorsing specific products. In this context, women are perceived as commercial media where all their biological capital and potential are manipulated and capitalized. Moreover, if people enjoy the content, it creates opportunities for Instagram account managers to design content that can be capitalized on.

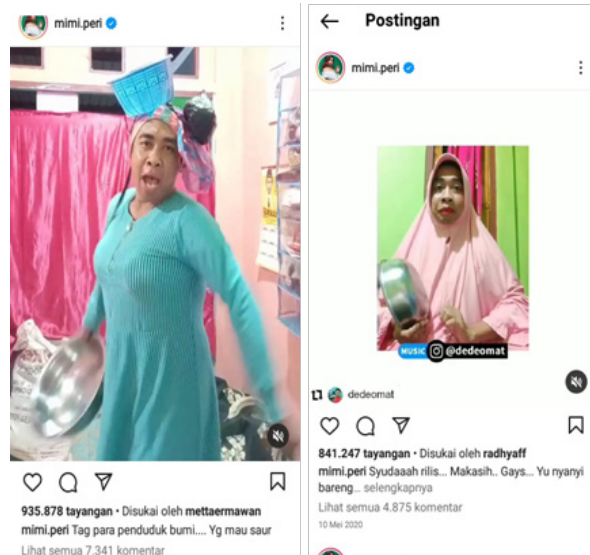


Figure 3: Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: @mimi.peri)

Content that represents gender stereotypes with comedic nuances does not only exist on the @mimi.peri account. However, similar content also appears on the @mamakbeti account and the @warintilofficial account, as shown in Figures 4 and 5.



Figure 4: Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: @mamakbeti)



Figure 5: Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: @warintilofficial)

The three Instagram accounts have something in common, namely, using male actors in the role of women. The @mimi.peri account depicted a female figure with silly behavior and improvised female gender traits and characters to invite laughter. There are even uploads that expose the sexual side of women with lewd styles using modest equipment. On the one hand, Garcia & Solona's research found that there are also feminist Instagramers who try to present real women demanding gender equality (Martín-García & Martínez-Solana, 2019) or also those who present the interpretation of the Qur'an proportionally - read egalitarian (Jamaluddin & Aisa, 2023).

The dynamics of gender stereotypes have their motives; Ahmad Jaelani, as an actor playing a female figure, stated playing a raunchy woman aims to accumulate netizen attention, which ultimately leads to economic capitalization. Moreover, the @mimi.peri account is verified on Instagram, so it is straightforward for this account to get the attention of netizens with an increasing number of followers. Likewise, the @mamakbeti account has the same motive, while Arif Muhammad is a female actor. The difference is that this account tends to emphasize the locality of Minang women, Javanese women, and women from other regions. A distinctive accent, a variety of location settings, and the ability to play many characters in one video or photo make Arif Muhammad's many followers go viral. Meanwhile, the @warintilofficial account tends to "play drama" in groups and is not awkward to show the public if the gender of all its members is male. They routinely share videos and photos that represent gender construction with various improvisations as jokes. The implication is that gender is a social construction that cannot be exchanged between women and men as if it only exists or is inherent in women and tends to cause many problems.

The reality is that the elements of gender are not fully understood by society if they are interchangeable and equally applicable to men and women. Tragically, however, the social construction shapes attitudes and characters that men are strong, brave, rational, and leaders. At the same time, women themselves are weak, timid, emotional, and only active in the domestic sphere, which is standardized and becomes the norm in life. It has contributed to the birth of pejorative comedy content that objectifies women as the source of jokes and ridicule. As if it has become ingrained in the virtual society, women are still perceived as passive subjects who are only in domestic work. Therefore, all domestic activities are considered futile activities -read trivial- and even considered non-contributive and economically valuable work. Even though women have public jobs, harmful female gender stereotypes such as annoying, nagging, and emotional are still strong.

The Dilemma of Gender Stereotypical Comedy Content

Instagram should be designed to bridge the inequality and subordination of women's position compared to men. Thus, Instagram posts in the form of photos or videos should be used to represent themselves as a form of reaction and criticism of fellow users. However, Instagram has toxic masculinity and over-feminine problems that perpetuate gender stereotypes and subordination from factual to virtual space (Tijani, 2019). Moreover, the content of various comedies tends to represent activities that are gender discriminatory and emphasize negative stereotypes of women. This dynamic, according to Heilbrun's analysis, cannot be separated from the bipolar paradigmatic pattern of sex, so there needs to be a transformation of the sex paradigm to a quadripolar typology (Heilbrun, 1976). This paradigm has implications for Instagram posts that can be used to seek attention and attract netizens with an egalitarian paradigm.

The accounts @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial are clearly visible if the account owners often produce comedic content themed on women's issues and are able to increase the number of followers. However, in this context, the gender construction attached to women is in the midst of two dilemmatic choices, namely, between continuing to uphold women's dignity or instead choosing the path of getting netizen attention by demeaning women. This dilemmatic position is like Instagram users are in a new village that is able to dissolve the boundaries of appropriateness so that they can get negative - or positive - functions from the presence of Instagram.

However, the indicator of whether the Instagram content is exciting or funny can be determined by the content theme that netizens find interesting. Therefore, social dynamics that arise are often the theme of Instagram content, including women, who are still considered the source of social problems, are considered very appropriate to be parodied. It indicates that factual society still places the position of women at a subordinate point so that the position of women

is often parodied with negative nuances. Naturally, the program shows negative activities such as working, talking, and walking in the style of men, or even vice versa. The dynamics of this parody show that the gender construction attached to men tends to be superior, which is considered final and normal, so it is relatively less funny to be parodied.

Worse, the existence of this comedy content has become a trend - read viral - to be followed by many other Instagram account users. It could be due to the mindset that arises in society if playing a woman with a negative gender stereotype is actually able to capitalize on the economy. The @mimi.peri account states that if she parodies women's activities or also plays the role of a woman, it aims to improve the family's economic level. Currently, the account is able to collect capital; she has even received offers to endorse products with high economic value. Interestingly, the accounts @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial also have YouTube channels, and the account names are the same as the Instagram account -except for the @mamak.beti account itself using the name Arif Muhammad. This space actually opens up the spread of comedy content that parodies Muslim women very massively in virtual space.

Tragically, the reactions shown by netizens to the comedy content were in the form of ridiculing responses that laughed in a pejorative tone. It can be seen in the comments column, as in the following description:

The @mimi.peri upload on September 30, 2021, which contains activities to scrub the toilet by showing Scarlett soap. The @mimi.peri account said, "*Kalau jadi perempuan itu bukan hanya pintar berdandan tapi harus pintar membersihkan WC kalau tidak kamu akan jadi perempuan yang tidak berguna dan ditinggalkan laki-lakimu*" ("If being a woman is not only smart to dress up but must be smart to clean the toilet otherwise you will become a useless woman and be left by your man"). Account @ayusalma_31 commented, "*@mimi.peri kamu itu peri yang nyamar jadi PRT atau PRT yang nyamar jadi peri???*" "*Ayo nyaku*" ("@mimi.peri are you a fairy disguised as a domestic worker or a domestic worker disguised as a fairy???" Let's confess") she wrote. Another comment from the @airin_chen account said, "*Tuh.. @apai_kim denger apa kata mimiperi wkwkwkwk*" ("See ... @apai_kim heard what mimiperi said LOL"). Then @apai_kim responded back, "*@airin_chen ada tugas laki-laki juga untuk membersihkan yang kotor-kotor, masa cewek semua yang kerjain harus adil dong bagi tugasnya..lol*" ("@airin_chen there is also a man's job to clean the dirty ones, it's not exclusive to girls who do it, so must be fair to share the duties..lol").

Video upload on July 11, 2021 which shows @mimi.peri dancing and accompanied by music. Netizen comments such as the @michella_dewi_joeung account, "*@mimi.peri itu hijab emak gue balikin yok dicariin emak gue soalnya*" ("@mimi.peri it's my mother's hijab, return it now she's looking

for it"). Account @mjanass, "*Tiba-tiba keinget almarhumah nenek yang suka lagu qasidah*" ("Suddenly I remembered my late grandmother who liked qasidah songs"). There is also @islaforlove commented, "*Hahaha beginilah bentuk bidadari yang akan dijumpai para Jihadis muslim di surga*" ("Hahaha this is the form of angels that Muslim Jihadists will meet in heaven"). The music of the video upload is a Qasidah song with different lyrics. Comments @plantsdelight_botany, "*Bagus lagu ini kak...berasa dengar nasida ria 80an versi kocak*" ("Nice song sis...feels like listening to a hilarious version of 80s nasida ria"); and @rsca_karim, "*Mih awas di cecal*" (Mih beware could be banned).

The video uploaded by the @mamakbeti account on November 15, 2020 portrays a woman named Juminem. She met a female friend and told her that she had just charged back the clothes she had lent to her friend, Ana. Even when the clothes she had borrowed had not been returned, she wanted to borrow Juminem's jewelry to wear to a wedding. In response, the female friend she met also wanted to borrow money from Juminem. A conversation ensued that mocked each other. Commented @wahyunia94, "*Tumben cantik kak jilbabnya biasanya kan menceng-menceng*" ("Beautiful not like usual, sis, the hijab is usually stark"). @muncaryati_ambarbawono commented, "*Wkwkwkwkwkwk nunggu cerita mbak Narti selanjutnya*" ("LOL waiting for Ms. Narti's next story"); and account @vitavhie responded, "*Ana memang ga ada akhlak @kristianjani_888*" ("Ana indeed has no morals @ kristianjani_888").

On July 13, 2020 @warintilofficial uploaded a video of a Muslim female employee stopping by a stall owned by a neighbor who is female. On that occasion, a conversation took place that made fun of and satirized each other. Commented @kimoralee04, "*Aku paling ngefens sama bukep...tiap dia muncul tak henti-hentinya ketawa*" ("I love bukep the most...every time he appears, I can't stop laughing"). Account @noya_anipar commented, "*@cuthanifahfarabulan @aryana_juntak @verapebrina janda persugihan tengkorak*" ("@cuthanifahfarabulan@aryana_juntak@verapebrina skull fetish widow"). While the account @ay.ayu161 commented, "*Liat mereka itu kek bener-bener ibu-ibu loh, saking menikmati banget aktingnya jadi lupa kalau mereka itu laki-laki semua, serius menjiwai banget mereka*" ("Look at them, they are really moms, I really enjoy their acting so I forget that they are all men, seriously animating them").

It turns out that on the one hand, if you look at netizen comments on the uploads of the @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial accounts, there are still netizens who try to filter these contents. They tend to invite other netizens to think critically and develop a gender justice perspective through comments on uploads of the domestication of women's roles. It means that when gender roles affect the pattern of relations between women and men, they are colored

with nuances of flexibility, justice, and egalitarianism. Thus, the relationship between men and women is realized with nuances of gender equality and justice without any hegemonic stereotypes in factual and virtual spaces. However, these stereotypes are not born value-free but are formed from aspects of interest. For example, Smith et al.'s research revealed the existence of stereotypes in the aviation industry, where normative gender assumptions on Instagram were actually formed on the basis of interests (E. Smith, Kimbu, de Jong, & Cohen, 2023).

In this context, the virtual community is actually in a dilemma about capturing the normative message of the Instagram account parody. The parody content is created from economic motives that actually override gender awareness so that the content is not born based on gender awareness. As if this phenomenon is commonplace, social media often becomes a patriarchal instrument whose influencers transmit sex stereotypes using non-inclusive language (Arias-Rodriguez & Sánchez-Bello, 2022). Gender consciousness is eliminated by the pragmatic interests that are the basis and motives of these Instagram accounts. Therefore, a dilemmatic position is not formed from the gender consciousness that underlies the uploading of Instagram account content.

This condition would not have been formed if, in the factual space, the social construction of gender was very dynamic and did not refer to only certain genders. Comedy content does deny the potential of both types of feminine or masculine traits and characters that can be attached to men and women. Therefore, stereotypical comedy content only discredits women and causes inequality in relations between men and women. In comparison, an egalitarian relationship pattern creates a balance in social life. In fact, on the one hand, there will be freedom when placing themselves equally between men and women without a superior attitude that hegemonizes certain sexualities.

It seems as if this ideal is only utopian because Instagram accounts that upload stereotypical comedy are growing. Apart from the three accounts, namely @mimiperi, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial, there are other accounts with the same characteristics. This situation seems to confirm the research of Yuliani et al., who found that social media competes with other means of satisfying needs (Yuliani, Ahmad, & Srinoviati, 2020). Therefore, the existence of social media is very close to factual space and can even create a new reality, namely virtual space. Research by Ma'rufah et al. actually elaborates if it is the virtual space that often creates destructive actions and attitudes - namely cybercrime (Ma'rufah, Rahmat, & Widana, 2020). It can be said that factual and virtual spaces influence each other, so Instagram accounts need to pay great attention to issues of gender bias in factual and virtual spaces. Moreover, the figures of celebrities and influencers will quickly get public attention when spreading normative messages in each content.

Theological Value-Based Gender Justice Instagram

Indonesia is among the top five countries that use social media, but this potential has both positive and negative impacts - such as cybercrime (Rahmawati, 2017). One of the positive impacts of social media is that it facilitates communication activities. However, tragically, the rapid growth of social media and technological advancements reinforces the standardization of work based on biological aspects. Discriminatory factual spaces tend to differentiate based not on ability but on biological factors. In this position, there is an intersexuality between technology - read social media - and gender that creates inequality and harms women. Even though the value of technological benefits - read social media - is not tied to biological aspects, Rosyidah & Nurwati's research actually found that the gender aspect is a demographic variable that significantly influences the use of social media (Rosyidah & Nurwati, 2019).

In essence, the relationship between gender and technology is dynamic following the social transformation that moves forward. Therefore, the use of Instagram does not correlate with certain biological aspects and develops a quality of life not based on gender stereotypes. In fact, social media is very dependent on the users who utilize it. For example, Instagram content design is very dependent on the account owner. Of course, the content design is created based on the principle of awareness of the account owner, especially the desire to attract public attention. In this context, unique or even strange content is needed so that the content is exciting and viral. But on the contrary, if it contains discriminatory values and stereotypes against certain sexualities.

The implication is that if these gender stereotypes persist, they will create prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards women. Finally, sexism against women seems to be a natural social construct. In the virtual space, it is often visualized in the form of jokes and ridicule that are very easy to find in various Instagram content, such as in the accounts @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial. Even Instagram is able to eliminate socialization barriers, including when transmitting egalitarianism or gender stereotypes. Meanwhile, netizens themselves also do not have any obstacles to accessing Instagram content. The ease of Instagram also raises sensitive issues about gender bias in technological development. However, this does not mean that technology is positioned as distant and unfriendly towards women; on the contrary - as Sciberras & Tanner's research found - Instagram is currently used to make women subjects rather than objects (Sciberras & Tanner, 2021).

Therefore, realizing a gender-equitable Instagram is a solution to gender-stereotyped comedy content. The process of transmitting gender egalitarianism or non-discriminatory humanist values towards women through content production can be realized. Although only designing comedy content for the sake of pursuing ratings and personal gain or particular groups. The Instagram account can actually influence the mindset and social construction of society in

factual and virtual spaces. It is because, as Roberti's research recognizes, women are in a position of ambivalence in virtual space (Roberti, 2022). In this context, the Instagram account seeks to preserve the existing social construction or seeks to transform social construction.

Ideally, gender-equitable social transformation efforts need to be the main focus of virtual space. Especially when virtual space is in a position of ambivalence because Instagram accounts apparently contain content that intersects with commercialization practices. Fondevilla-Gascon et al. recognize that Instagram does tend to commercialize (Fondevila, Gutierrez, Copeiro, Villalba, & Polo, 2020), so comedy content is designed not merely to spread certain ideologies. Although the paradigm and logic base are immature and the information conveyed is partial, this condition greatly influences the content of influencers or celebgrams. The implication is that the content, which is merely a means of entertainment, pushes women to the brink of humanistic discrimination. This condition does not receive attention from influencers or celebgrams or the public, as if they are a priori to those outside their interests.

Although other Instagram accounts have educational and scientific content, they are only favored by a minority of people, namely observers of gender equality issues. Meanwhile, the majority of people have an a priori attitude towards the marginalized position of women and tend to follow the narratives built by influencers and celebgrams. Factual and virtual spaces ultimately become spaces that marginalize women in a subordinate position. Therefore, the virtual space - read Instagram account - needs to be constructed with gender justice paradigmatics based on theological values - read Islamic values.

This theological value is the paradigmatic basis of gender justice that sees the egalitarian status of men and women as *abdullah* and *khalifah* on earth. It even becomes an egalitarian spirit to close the hegemonic actions and marginalization of women born from a patriarchal mindset. This paradigmatic is built from theological values, namely, first, the value of humanity that equalizes the function of the creation of men and women reflected in QS. al-Dzariat verse 56; second, the value of justice and goodness reflected in QS. an-Nahl verse 90; the value of security and tranquility reflected in QS. an-Nisa verse 58; and the value of amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar reflected in QS. al-Dzariat verse 104. Ali Imran verse 104; third, the value of egalitarianism, where men and women occupy egalitarian positions in the frame of social construction, is reflected in QS. al-Hujurat verse 13; and the fourth, the value of equality, where men and women are equally positioned as caliphs on earth, is reflected in QS. Al-An'am verse 165.

These theological values will actually fortify the paradigm and actions of the community to position women as weak objects to be positioned as sub-ordinate creatures after men, moreover, if the attitudes and characters attached to women continue to be ridiculed and laughed at. Even though the human potential of men and women is the same, in the aspect of leadership, they tend to have the

same leadership competencies in educational institutions (Agustin, 2021) or also in other sectors (Keohane, 2020). This potential indicates that women, by nature, have the same position as men and are systemically marginalized in the context of social construction.

Factually, theological values - Islamic values - as a normative reference for social constructs do not position men and women unequally. Therefore, virtual society - read Instagram netizens - does need to have knowledge and awareness of theological value-based gender constructs. Critically, Islam has measured the conceptuality between sex and gender so that it becomes the basis of knowledge and awareness of society in factual or virtual space. For example, the word *an-nisa'* means woman in the context of gender-social construction. It is different from the word *al-untsa*, which means woman in the context of sex -natural context. The word *an-nisa'* is expressed 59 times with the construction of meaning emphasized on social or cultural factors not based on natural sex. Similarly, the word *ar-rajul* in QS. an-Nisa verse 1 and QS. an-Naml verse 55 means male in the context of gender-read socio-culture, and it is different from the word *adz-dzakar*, which means male with biological and natural sex connotations.

Based on the construction of theological knowledge, there are obvious signs in measuring the "rules of the game" of relations between men and women. Gender stereotypes that appear in virtual spaces actually need to get critical treatment from netizens so that they can be more proportional in designing comedy content. Sometimes, this condition is detrimental to women not only in the domestic sphere but also in the public sphere; research by Aspinall et al. found barriers to women when participating in the public sphere (Aspinall, White, & Savirani, 2021). Therefore, from a theological perspective, the proportionality of gender stereotypes is a reality that can be exchanged between men and women. Meanwhile, biological factors are not interchangeable because they are permanent and inherent as natural characteristics.

Thus, the permanent sex factor (designed by God) is a biological characteristic of men and women framed by the concept of gender as social construction (values designed by society). If, in society, there is a hierarchical division of labor between men and women culturally, then this reality is not a normative value and culture that comes from natural reality. Therefore, the subordination of women in the political, economic, social, or cultural sectors constructed in Instagram account content is a reality that has violated God's nature. In this context, it can be said that gender stereotypes are views or assumptions attached to particular sexes that are legitimized by community agreements. Moreover, the existence of women's powerlessness as a result of stereotypes actually puts women in a subordinate, inferior, and less valued position. This condition is exacerbated by negative views of women, such as women are arrogant, selfish, troublemakers, and stupid.

These submissive views are basically designed in order to control the subversive potential of women who endanger male authority. It has basically been realized by foreign researchers, namely Florida, who stated that the position of men who have weakened politically due to the increasing number of empowered and independent women actually encourages men to control women through submissive gender stereotypes (Florida, 1996). In factual space or virtual space such as Instagram, it can be said that there is still a struggle for positions between men and women in order to control particular sexes. Egocentric men who consider themselves capable of having better degrees and authority than women exercise control through various means. Including attaching a submissive nature to women under the pretext of designing comedy content for entertainment.

CONCLUSION

Based on this description, it can be said that gender construction on Instagram, especially in comedy content, is still strongly influenced by old patriarchal mindsets. The subordination pinned to women is represented by negative stereotypes that have been developed and then played by men. The Instagram account users do not hesitate to act out the figure of Muslim women with several variations in order to get responses from other users. They openly behave in an “odd” way based on the construction of the female gender. Thus, the traits and characters of these women are increasingly underestimated compared to gender constructions in men, such as firmness, responsibility, authority, and honorability.

The representation of women’s traits and characters shown in the Instagram content of @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @officialwarintil will indirectly perpetuate the assumption that women’s attitudes and characters are less favorable and then deserve to be joked about. Netizens who, in this context, deal directly with Instagram should be more selective in following and giving likes to content that is not gender-friendly. Even if necessary, netizens can use the Report service on Instagram for Spam content and reduce their dignity as a woman. It is necessary so that the struggle and enthusiasm of gender justice fighters can be helped in order to alleviate women from all forms of oppression. This task does not only apply to a few people or groups but needs to be understood as a joint movement. Thus, educational content as a counter-narrative should also be intensified as irresponsible accounts proliferate. Thus, it can provide understanding to the public so that they are not easily carried away by the euphoria of viral comedy content that is disguised as comedy but does not do justice to women.

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